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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

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According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

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"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

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"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriya* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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[586] then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so very
585 uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, jus primae noctis, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *ákit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banít:* the girl's parents are those who *mamanít*, they *banítan* the *tádug*.

585 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again pre-
263 pared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called *lablabág;* but the *pinatarú-* variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights,
585 not by days) after the *ákit*, the young couple *maglablabág:* they first go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the
585 afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their
262 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.,—are called *talinabáw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *ákit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabáw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *ákit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

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In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities:

1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

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With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been previously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

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In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

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587 888 887 171 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 587 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 684 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce, and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 684 837 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 684 461 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture. 586 684 461

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper. 586 684 574

By the wife: 586

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether. 684 837

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices. 586 684 461

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative. 586

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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586 ful for many years, rarely becomes an adulteress in her old age, and, on the other hand, a young wife is much more jealous of the exclusive love of her husband than an older one: and people who were industrious during the first years of their married life, rarely give their partner a reason for divorce on that score later in life, when several children may perhaps be helping them to lighten the burden. 586 With reference to lack of hospitality on the part of the woman, this 514 also will rarely be a reason for permanent separation after many years of cohabitation; because the woman does not as a rule change with years in her habitual politeness toward guests of the house, or, if she does, her husband will in all probability have become more lenient in that respect and forgive her more easily any breach of hospitality that may happen at a time when the former good reputation of the house will hardly be impaired by a little grumbling on the part of a woman advanced in years.

586 To separate (*mazadi*) is usually a very easy matter, as regards 684 husband and wife. A few hard words may occasionally accompany the ultimate breaking of the marriage tie, but in general both of them merely go their own way. The woman goes back to her parents and the husband stays where he is, or, in case the latter is still living at the house of his parents-in-law, he leaves and she stays: and there the matter rests as far as they are concerned. With reference to the children, the little ones follow the mother, and the others are free to do as they please: they may take sides with either their father or their mother according to their own wishes. If the *tádug*, or price paid for the bride, is to be returned to the parents of the groom, these have to look out for it by themselves, and to agree about the matter with the parents of their former daughter-in-law. The divorced couple had no hand in the whole affair at the time of their marriage, and they never obtained any advantages on that account, so why should they bother about it at this stage and enter into discussions which could bring them only trouble without the smallest prospect of any emolument?

Isneg law is very simple in this respect. If the husband is at fault, nothing is returned, and besides the culprit is often heavily fined (*xúsi* jars, beads, etc.) by the angered relatives of the girl. If the wife is the guilty party, everything has to be given back. But in practice it is sometimes very hard to decide whether the blame is or is not all on one side. Except in a few cases, as in that of flagrant adultery on the part of the woman and so on, everything may have

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadćń*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rdy*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rdy*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadćń* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *mćńal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadćń*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadćń* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mańćn: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Mańatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

APAYAO LIFE AND LEGENDS

THE PEOPLE OF APAYAO

WHEN you travel in the Philippines to the 131
northwesterly end of Luzon Island as far as Abulog; and then take a banca up the clear, warm waters of the Apayao River, as it meanders through dark tropical forests and amidst gorgeous mountains, you come into the lovely land of the Apayaos.

These virile people came here uncounted thou- 174
sands of years ago in two main migration waves; one- 144
the Indonesian-by way of Southeastern Asia; and the other-the Mongolian-by way of Central Asia. Here, in the northerly end of the Cordillera Central Mountains, these two waves converged, finding a new home with which they have ever since been well content. Their cultures amalgamated into a new one. Physically, the Indonesian strain dominated; but Mongoloid features of all the three short types are present, especially the short Mongol. According to the last cen- 161
sus they number 11,000.

You will like these people; for they are kindly, 181
hospitable, generous mountain lovers. They are high- 577
ly aesthetic in temperament, self-reliant, and honest. If perchance, you drop something, even money, on the trail, the finder will return it to you. They say that [586]
if a man steals, his wife will leave him: or, if they

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 [461 684] The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a [587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are [581 831] then free to marry again. The woman must implicitly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him: 684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced